Volume LXXIX CHICAGO, November 15, 1917 Number 11

UNITY

Freedom, Fellowship and Character in Religion

THE GOLDEN AGE.

The golden age will dawn
When man shall dare to be
From false ambition free,
His goal the truth;
When every youth
Shall seek, not wealth and fame,
But this: a spotless name.
Righteousness shall be bold
In that fair age of gold.

The golden age will come
When men shall work for joy,
When each shall find employ
Suited to each;
When toil shall teach,
Not bring the soul disgust;
Men will not hear, "Thou must!"
Labor will not be sold,
In that bright age of gold.

The golden age on earth
Will be a time of peace;
The wars of greed shall cease;
Envy shall fail,
Mercy prevail;
Creeds shall not separate;
Caste shall be out of date;
Love shall all hearts enfold
In that fair age of gold.

—*Thomas Curtis Clark.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXX. THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1917 NUMBER 11

NEIGHBORS.

Let me have faith, is what I pray,
And let my faith be strong!—
But who am I, is what I say,
To think my neighbor wrong?

And though my neighbor may deny
True faith could be so slight,
May call me wrong, yet who am I
To think my neighbor right?

We may discover by and by
Making our wisdom double,
That he is right and so am I—
And save a lot of trouble.

—*Witter Bynner.*

From "Grenstone Poems," published by Frederick A. Stokes Company.

The Health Department of Chicago reports an increase of cases of diphtheria and scarlet fever in the city. It reiterates the warning, "Do not neglect the slightest sore throat. Call your doctor early. Have anti-toxin given at once. It is furnished without cost."

Mr. Gannett's life-reaching study of "The Household Altar in Homes of the Liberal Faith," which was published in UNITY some months ago and subsequently appeared in the *Christian Register,* has been privately printed as an attractive pamphlet, bearing no other imprint than Cambridge, Mass. It is worth looking for, and a limited demand doubtless can be met by addressing William C. Gannett, 3 Berkeley Place, Cambridge, Mass.

The amount of good paper that is being offered to the waste baskets of America by the Government and by the various missionary, patriotic, and economic activities is beyond computation. Not that the subject matter is trifling or undeserving, but the tremendous flood of printer's ink deluges the intellectual continent. Among the latest material from the government printing office to reach our table, is the "National Service Handbook," an encyclopedic work of 250 pages, packed full of timely information concerning all phases of domestic welfare, European war relief, religious organizations, war finances, agricultural resources, civic service, and affairs of army and navy. It is nothing less than an encyclopedia of present-day governmental activities. It is a valuable reference book and should be handy by to every editorial, ministerial and pedagogical hand.

The Reverend George A. Thayer, for thirty-two years pastor of the Unitarian Church in Cincinnati, has done the graceful thing for a pastor emeritus; he has written a history of the Church over whose destiny he presided so long. It is a history that dates back to 1830 and includes in its list of ministers the names of those who helped shape the growing republic. Edward B. Hall, Ephriam Peabody, William Henry Channing, A. A. Livermore, Moncure D. Conway, are names to be found in the literature and history of our country. On October 5, 1882, it was the privilege of the Editor of UNITY to extend the right hand of welcome to Mr. Thayer as he assumed the pastorate of what was then a "church out west." And it is a pleasure and a privilege that the Editor enjoys at the end of thirty-five years to extend congratulations to the man who, after the strenuous years, enjoys the leisure and the serenity compatible with a writer of history.

We cannot locate the place of publication of a little pamphlet entitled "Non-Resistance and to What End?" by Fannie Bixby. We wish we could lift it out of its obscurity, hoping that some of our readers might send for it. It is a searching discussion of the fundamental issues involved in the present war. It is not a struggle between Germany and England or between Democracy and Autocracy, but it is a struggle between the war forces and the forces of love and reason. The combatants in this struggle do not run parallel with trench lines. The writer says:

> War is the glory of autocracy. Democracy is a slow, gradual evolutionary growth. Every nation which has cast its lot with the belligerents on either side of the great world war is daily sipping of the sparkling wine of ambition, the precursor of tyranny and doom.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> Between the contending nations today there is no issue, consequently there can be no victory, other than a temporary shifting of the balance of might. The issue of time is war or peace. Upon this issue and this alone the people of all lands must take their stand until national lines are lost forever, either in hopeless devastation and distintegration through a war to the finish or in an international brotherhood and peace without victory.

Reverend Victor Monod, a French chaplain with the rank of captain, is visiting the Protestant churches of America on a fraternal mission. Last Sunday he was in Chicago and spoke in the forenoon at the New England Congregational Church, in the afternoon at 4 o'clock at the French Methodist Church on the South Side, in French, and in the evening at the First Congregational Church in Evanston. On Monday he addressed the group of Methodist and Presbyterian ministers. On Sunday evening he snatched from his

busy day's work time to break bread with the residents of the Abraham Lincoln Centre, bringing in person to the editor of UNITY and his co-workers the greetings of Reverend Charles Wagner, whose visit to Chicago thirteen years ago was an event long to be remembered. Pastor Monod reports the great prophet of the Simple Life in good health and spirit. Through the pages of UNITY we are glad to extend his greeting to his American friends. This French chaplain appears in his military uniform. He is a young man of refinement and education. He says that of the 1,000 Protestant ministers in France, one-half are at the front, and over sixty ministers and theological students have given up their lives for the cause. He hopes that when the war is over the tide of American students that previously poured into the German universities may be drawn to the academic privileges of France. He foresees a time when the bonds of international fellowship will be multiplied and strengthened. Already he finds that the Protestant contingency in France, which before the war was distrusted and minimized by the Catholic Church, is enlisting and commanding the respect and co-operation of the highest Catholic functionary. Thus through the bloody ways of war the embattled men are traveling towards a peace that is inter-denominational, interracial and inter-national.

It is impossible for us to find space for all the interesting communications that reach our table concerning the high and hot questions involved in the present war. We must content ourselves with trying to make the position of UNITY clearly understood, and, so far as possible, to comfort and co-operate with what we believe to be a vast multitude of American citizens who, in deploring this war, in common with all humanity, deplore also the easy assumption that there is no remedy for its ills but by a multiplication of its woes indefinitely. The epigram, "Now that we are in it, the only way out of it is to see it through," carries the possibility of a great amount of intellectual confusion and moral turpitude. It was poor wisdom for the runaway slave who lost his way in the Dismal Swamp to say that the only way out of it was to go through that vast noisome tangle. Sooner or later the steps must be retraced. Why not begin now before going deeper into the miasmic swamp? A correspondent would correct John Haynes Holmes' editorial in a recent number when he objects to having the pacifist considered pro-German, and urges that "the pacifist of today is best typified by the man who will not buy liberty bonds, who lends himself enthusiastically to agitation for the repeal of the conscription law and who argues that all the belligerents are in the same class," and he submits that the "effect of such action is to weaken our national effort which in turn is equivalent to contributing to the military power of the enemy," a conclusion that UNITY accepts, but we are for a war against war, one that tends to devitalize militancy on every side. Some day the Powers now floundering in the dismal swamps of war will have to retrace their steps back to dry land and the sunshine. Benignant are the men or organizations who will help to lead them in the ways of peace. "Blessed are the Peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Where is organized religion? What of Christianity and the ministers consecrated to Love in this dilemma? Are they prepared to lead the broken nations out of, not through war?

Reverend F. E. Armstrong of Sheffield, England, takes what seems to us an intelligent and prophetic issue with the *Inquirer,* the leading organ of Unitarianism in England, when it declares against the possibility of an international conference of the churches in the interest of peace at the present time. Says Mr. Armstrong:

> It is an easy and comforting attitude of mind to some, perhaps, to assume that all the peoples of the Allies are moved by a passion for righteousness, and all the peoples of our enemies solely by selfish and wicked aims; that right as represented by the Allied armies must and will sooner or later achieve a complete military victory over the forces of unrighteousness, and so inaugurate the kingdom of heaven upon earth. But does not the voice of reason cry aloud that the moral divisions of Europe are not thus drawn; that the division between the men of selfish aims and those of pure and Christian motives, in so far as it can be made at all, cuts clean across trenches and frontiers; that God has no chosen people, but speaks with as clear a voice to German and Turk as to Englishman and Frenchman; that it is only the "pride and passion of war" which can obscure this elementary truth from any sincere man?
>
> Is it necessary to take the Kaiser and the Austrian Cardinals as representative Christians among our enemies? Have we not entered into religious fellowship with many a subject of Germany and Austria before the war, and found ourselves in the closest possible sympathy with representative Christians of all nations? Have we not faith enough in mankind to believe that it is only by the misunderstandings and misrepresentations of politicians that these fellow Christians of ours have ever been induced to support the actions of their governments, who in every country proclaim this war as one of self-defense against grasping and unscrupulous enemies? Many of your readers, I am sure, believe that an international meeting of religious bodies would reveal an amount of moral agreement and pureness of motive which would astonish the pessimists in all countries, and that such a meeting would be productive of incalculable good in promoting that spirit of mutual forbearance and understanding on which alone a lasting peace can possibly rest. We do not need from our religious teachers, it seems to me, in these times, an insistence on the wickedness of our enemies, and the impossibility of any attempt at reconciliation until more millions of Europe's manhood have been destroyed; the political press surely does all and more than all that is necessary in that direction. Your duty, surely, is to keep bright in these dark times the ancient faith in the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the fundamental goodness of human nature in all lands; that Christian faith which our teachers were wont to proclaim to us in times of peace as higher than any limited brotherhood of race, of nation, or of family. Let us, then, "look closely into the moral agreements on which all real fellowship depends," and for God's sake let it be done quickly, that the blood of the living may not be shed in vain.

The Y. M. C. A. Drive

No wonder that the Y. M. C. A. should now assert its claim. For patriotic reasons, it delayed its campaign until the second Liberty Loan push had been achieved. Now it has marshaled its forces to win a war fund of $35,000,000. This, at any other time, would seem to be a heroic sum. It is more than the sum spent for all the home and foreign missions of all the Protestant churches in a year. But when compared with the mighty sum being spent for war purposes, it seems insignificant and altogether out of proportion.

In a four-page circular entitled "Talking Points for Workers in This Campaign," we are told that this war has already cost seventy billions of dollars, and that the daily expense is a hundred and sixty millions. This $35,000,000 represents an amount that is "shot away in six and one-half hours." It asks "for this constructive work only one-fifth of one per cent of what is spent in destruction.

We hope some of these soldier figures are exaggerated, though doubtless the compilation has been carefully made. We are told that there are thirty-eight million men under arms, twenty-seven million Allies and eleven million Central Powers, and that two-thirds of the human race is involved; that twenty times as many men are under arms as in any previous war; that the United States will have two and a half million soldiers and sailors under arms by July first. This is half a million more men than were under arms in any previous war. Napoleon never saw a battle line more than fifteen miles long—the present battle line in Northern France is five hundred miles long.

Surely the plea of the Y. M. C. A. is a commanding one. It is humiliating to think that all this ameliorating work, the reinforcement of the morale of the army, as is frankly admitted by the circular, is left largely to individual "charities." Von Hindenberg is quoted as saying, with the insight of a soldier, that "that nation will win which can sustain the morale of people and soldiers the longest." And still the provision for the maintenance of this same morale is left to be chiefly an extra-governmental attachment.

It is announced that the Y. M. C. A. at the various camps and cantonments proposes to build for every seven thousand men a building 120 by 40 feet, to furnish it with six secretaries, a picture machine, piano, graphanola, writing materials, magazines, athletic equipment, games, tables, postoffice and savings departments, etc., etc.

The Government makes thoughtful provision for injured bodies, broken limbs. It is justifiably proud of its hospital equipment, but the homesick and heart-sick souls, the broken resolutions, and shattered wills are largely left to outside manipulation. To do this mighty work the Y. M. C. A. is asking for a petty thirty-five million dollars. When will the Government awaken to the value of its non-tangible assets? This circular offers as its claim on private generosity toward this fund the deplorable spiritual situations in which governments leave their soldiers. It says that our men get one dollar per day as a minimum, while French soldiers get five cents. "The greater the pay, the greater the temptation, for the women of the streets know the amount of pay received by the soldiers. In the British army alone at one time, 300,000 men were in the venereal hospitals." The circular further adds that someone has said that there has been enough disease developed in this war to curse Europe for three generations."

For the constructive, preservative and religious work of the Y. M. C. A., there should be nothing but words of praise and of hearty endorsement. But when, with what would seem to be strange forgetting of the "C" in its title, this last hope for the ministrations of love assumes the martial spirit and would fain become a strategic element in the battle-field, there is room for sad disappointment. Doctor Mott, whose title, we believe, is *International* Secretary, with that strange familiarity with the divine which has characterized all belligerent forces in Christendom for the last thousand years, says: "Pray God that the American people give us not ten million for our Allies, but two or three times that amount." Doctor Mott further assumes a painful intimacy with the Almighty when he says: "We have no choice. It is not optional whether or not this door of opportunity is entered. It is obligatory. It is God's call and cannot be denied."

In another place in the circular, the money is asked for because the Y. M. C. A. should be rushed to the Russian front for the encouragement of seven million "wavering soldiers." It also gives the tactical information that "one million American boys might be saved by the *stiffening of the Russian line, so that seven million soldiers might continue to keep three million German soldiers busy,* thus keeping them from being thrown upon the western front."

This, it is claimed, is a "Christian" organization. Is Christ to have an official representative upon the military staff of the allies? If he is as efficient in military matters as some of the praying parsons believe him to be, it would seem that he might shorten the disastrous war and lessen the human slaughter.

The upshot of it all is that even the "Y. M. C. A." the most humane and cosmopolitan religious organization among Protestants of modern time, has become hopelessly belligerent. Not content to ameliorate the woes of war, it lends itself to the stiffening of the sinews of war.

We hope they will promptly raise the thirty-five million that they will make right uses of it, and then

we trust that a more intimate acquaintance with the horrible results of war will awaken again in the hearts of these "Christians" a compassion even for the deluded Germans, and a suspicion that there may be "smoke in the flame" that burns even on the altar of the Allies.

Perhaps prophecy may yet clothe itself in khaki and the Y. M. C. A. will grow out of the limitations of the "Y," burst the bonds of the "M," get a higher glimpse of the true meaning of the "C," and glory in the advancement of the "A" that will not be hedged about with barbed wire and will know no "No-Man's-Land."

What the Pacifist Is Not!

III.

One of the vivid and extraordinary phrases which the Great War has brought into exceeding prominence is that of "slacker." This word is meant to apply to the man who is unwilling, for selfish reasons, to carry his share of the stupendous social burden imposed upon all peoples by the present international conflict. This man seeks to evade giving service to the nation, not because he is in sympathy with the enemy, or afraid of the hazards involved, but because he is a constitutional shirker of every task which is not exclusively directed to his own greater happiness and ease. He refuses to go to the front because military service involves discomfort and sacrifice. He declines to purchase Liberty Bonds, not because of any principle, but because he has no money for anything but his own personal necessities and desires. He avoids national service in time of war—exactly as he has long avoided such service in time of peace by evading taxes, lying out of customs charges, skipping jury service, refusing co-operation in philanthropic and reform activities—simply and solely because he is a selfish man, who recognizes no obligation to any needs other than his own. Than the word "slacker" no better word was ever chosen to describe such an individual as this!

Now that the pacifists include some men and women who are "slackers" in this sense, is probable. Selfishness is still a fairly "constant quantity" in human nature, and it is not likely that even pacifists have altogether escaped this taint of "old Adam." But that pacifists are prevailingly of the "slacker" type, shirkers of the social burden and the social responsibility—this is as preposterous as the charge that they are cowards or pro-Germans.

Take the pacifists who are conspicuous in this country at the present moment—Jane Addams, Lillian D. Wald, David Starr Jordan, Oswald Garrison Villard, Herbert S. Bigelow, Scott Nearing, Amos Pinchot, Robert M. La Follette, John Lovejoy Elliott, Randolph M. Bourne, Norman Thomas, to name only a few. When, in time of peace, were these men and women ever known as shirkers? When did any one of these seek their own comfort, ease or happiness at the expense of the social welfare? Have not they all been tireless and heroic servants of the common good? Have not they lived day and night, year in and year out, "for others' sakes"? Has not every hazardous and burdensome movement for human betterment, involving the sacrifice of time, strength and sometimes reputation, known the allegiance of each and every one of these leaders? And yet now, forsooth, when burdens are heavier and responsibilities vaster than they have ever been before, we are asked to believe that these men and women have suddenly changed their inmost natures and became "slackers"! Never has a more malicious and slanderous charge been levelled against a noble company of men and women. The leopard may change his spots, and the stars their shining—but not these soldiers of the Kingdom their consecration!

The fact of the matter is, the pacifists, so far from being "slackers," are servants of human need in so high and true a sense that their service is quite beyond the comprehension of the average observer. Just as Socrates was condemned as an atheist, not because he did not believe in God, but because, as Plato tells us in the *Apology,* his belief was "beyond the understanding of (his) accusers," so these pacifists are condemned as "slackers," not because they do not "do their bit," but because their "bit" is an offering not recognized by their "accusers." The average man interprets national service in terms of flag-waving, "Star-Spangled Bannering," German baiting, army and navy enlistment. The pacifist may or may not be interested in these forms of patriotic devotion. In either case, he has transcended them. The nation to him is a part of the great body of humanity, as the hand or the arm is, in the Pauline sense, a member of the physical body. Service of the nation, therefore, must be identical with service of the entire human family. To try to serve one country by destroying another country is to the pacifist as impossible as to try to serve the hand by cutting off the foot. In both cases the service of the part is a disservice of the whole. And it is just this partial and therefore suicidal service which the pacifist will not perform. He seeks to prosper the life of the whole—to serve that God who is the God of humanity. To him he will render perfect and entire service. For him he will lay down life. But beyond this, or short of this he will not go. If in this he is a "slacker," then may his fellow-countrymen make the most of it!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.
Church of the Messiah, New York City.

The Religion of Democracy

The religion of democracy affirms the worth and dignity of the human soul. It proclaims the presence of God, not in some far-off sphere, but in the relations of men. It recognizes that the forms of democracy are not its reality. Democracy is not a machine for counting noses, but a living spirit binding, seeking to unite in a real fellowship all the sons and daughters of men.

Democracy is another word for God. The striving of men in the great and little nations and on the islands of the seas is for a larger opportunity. It is for self-realization. It is the longing for the abundant life. The race has discovered that no man finds himself alone. In fellowship and comradeship, in the meeting of soul with soul the discovery of the inner and deeper self is made. This is revealing to men the God that is within them. "Where Love is God is," not as a third person observing a relation between two human beings, but in the very act that unites souls in a holy communion.

In solving the problems of today, in breaking down the barriers between men and the future, in reaching out into the unknown, men are the hands and feet of God. He, through them, fulfills his purposes and realizes his dreams. It is free men, men who have opportunity, men who are not bound to the chariots of industry that are the channels for the expression of the eternal life. In taking off the shackles from men, in giving them freedom, in revealing to them the dignity and worth of their souls, we are living and doing the deeds of God. If we, through personal greed or vain ambition, close the channels for the expression of his life in us, we are battling against his will.

When men are benumbed in body and broken in will the Living Spirit cannot find his way through them. Only where there is real freedom can the voice of God be heard. The struggle of the ages has been for freedom, for life. Against the hard material facts of existence the Eternal battles for life. The co-operation of the individual with this historic process is a revelation of God. The challenge of democracy is one that calls upon men everywhere to release those that are in bondage, to strike the shackles from slaves that the life of God may break through the individual life into the world.

In mine and factory are men with dull eyes and bent backs. Hope has departed and the life has become one long, dull routine of toil, lightened only by the more coarse and sensual pleasures of the body. In poor-farms and houses of correction are the poor and broken bodies of those who came "trailing clouds of Glory." Poets, artists and prophets are among them. But "Man's inhumanity to man" denies them utterance. The religion of democracy is the passionate cry of God to those who can and will understand in behalf of "all the children of all the people. If anywhere in all the world one child is deprived of his opportunity, then is the will of God thwarted. That which we claim for the children of our bodies, democracy claims for all the children of the race.

The labor movement of today is not merely a selfish and sordid demand for more material things. It is the Eternal Spirit working through weak and blinded men, who but little comprehend the divine power working in and through them. They seek for their children and the children of the world opportunity. They want what all men want, a chance for those that are now doomed to dull and all too often soul-destroying toil. In spite of the ignorance of selfishness that too often denies the purpose of God, the exploited ones are winning for the dispossessed larger life and greater opportunity.

This is but a part of the great movement which we call democratic. It is not to be measured in terms of parliaments or of dollars, but in terms of life. Men find life not alone, but together. No man finds freedom by himself. He who enslaves is himself a slave. Democracy is seen only in the efforts of men to find freedom for all. In the fellowship of freedom men will go on to the larger and nobler thought of God.

The religion of democracy interprets this mighty urge that surges and presses forward in all the peoples of the earth as the strivings of God for a larger and fuller life. It offers to men a conscious co-operation with the Creative Process, an entering into a holy comradeship with God, a finding of life in the higher life. It reveals to men a power not of themselves which enables them to withstand "forever and a day" the assaults of men who battle only with the puny weapons of selfish ambition. To be a part of this mighty movement is to forget and to find one's self. It is to realize the presence of God.

ARTHUR S. WEATHERLY.

Military Necessity

By "Military Necessity" is meant the subordination in war time, of all other interests whatsoever, to that of national victory, or national defense. It is the concentration of all the evils which inhere in Nationalism. Its spirit is summed up in the old saying, *"Not kennt kein gebot"* (need knows no limit). And in this proverb it is assumed that "military necessity" is the one supernal need, before which all other interests are prostrate.

Thus the doctrine of "military necessity" precludes all scruples, public or private. It overrides all per-

sonal conscience, all teachings of morals or religion, all deliberation as to ways or purposes, all law, local, constitutional or international, all treaties or agreements that may stand in the way of victory.

Thus "military necessity" has made itself the justification for all invasions of national rights, all persecution of minorities, all murderous atrocities, evictions and exterminations, all acts of violence which arise through the submergence of law.

In brief, "military necessity" knows nothing but itself, and under its shelter have taken place the most hideous forms of collective criminality the earth has known. To destroy this agency of evil the incentives to international rivalry must be abated. Reduction of armament, progressive increase of freedom of trade and some measure of world federation seem vital to the continuance of civilization of which "military necessity" with its "Jus Belli Infinitum" (law of war without limit) is the arch enemy.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

Words of Encouragement

In these days when the "Pacifists" in pulpit, on platform and in the press are denounced as "cowards," "traitors," "slackers," "Copperheads" and similar terms of contempt, our readers are entitled to some of the words of encouragement and appreciation that come to the editorial desk of UNITY. These words of cheer have more than personal significance. Hence we print a few of them feeling that it is no indignity to the modesty which is as becoming to an editor as to a private citizen. A lady writes from California:

Yesterday I came across your paper in the library of this town and read its gentle abhorrence of hatred and the spirit of war. I belong to the far East and came away a few weeks ago in the hope of finding a more tolerant spirit in the far West. I find here the press dutifully loyal to our Government and its crusade against Germany, and the people obediently loyal but not quite as much steeped in hatred and malice toward the enemy we were once taught we should love. . . I am with you in your attitude towards war. . . Enclosed find check. Send a copy as soon as possible. I will remail it to rabid haters.

Sincerely yours,

— — —.

From an editor and teacher of national fame:

Just a word to tell you how much UNITY means to me in these troubled days when it is so easy to lose faith in humanity itself. It is not easy to keep up the banners to the sky, but you are doing it, and I am sure you are on the winning side, but whether we will see the victory or not, I know that Love is better than Hate. I am not writing these days anything worth while, nor saying it, for everything is interpreted as pro-Kaiser, while in my heart of hearts I am pro-Jesus, which means pro-Humanity.

With the most fraternal regards.

— — —.

A minister to the westward:

UNITY is to me like the shadow of a great rock in a desert land.

The Universal Hell

In the unity of the universe there cannot be both heaven and hell. The one can exist only by the abolition of the other. This is as true of this life as it is of any life to come.

Localized hells and heavens are out of date They defy geographical definition or limitation. The universe has no provision whereby they can be kept separate. The universe is not large enough to contain them both intact at the same time. And where hell is, there heaven cannot be.

This is as true of life and society today as it is of larger space and longer time. Whatever worlds there are must share in this inclusive fact, and ultimately adjust their theory of hell and their philosophy of heaven to meet its stern requirements.

Either heaven or hell must be dominant, to the exclusion of the other.

In individual life this means that no man can be in any real kind of heaven so long as any other man can be in any real kind of hell. No strength of personal desire gives him power to overcome the law of universality that sweeps aside all barriers between his heaven and another's hell.

This is the hard fact that crashes ultimately through every gay bubble of private bliss and leaves as residue only a drop of disappointment. The rainbow of anticipation leads only into the mist.

The unity of man is inclusive and absolute. Among the splendid prerogatives of individualism is not to be found the power to isolate oneself from the common mass and need.

And in human society this means that no class can create or maintain any exclusive heaven as long as any other class is forced to remain in any industrial or economic hell. This is the fact that flares into the social consciousness of today.

All class divisions are superficial and unreal. There is an underlying unity that defies and defeats all class isolation. No class can live to itself, or by itself. Its attempts at division are but nets hung in the sea to separate the waves.

No wall of social division is high enough or thick enough to allow paradise to remain untouched and unspoiled by the existence of hell without. Misery is all pervasive. The bluebird flies at the slightest sound of woe.

The time has come when every private garden must reckon with the Zeppelin of human ill. Evil can wing its way over any wall. And even the skies cannot any longer afford seclusion and safety.

In the unity of things, a part cannot remain apart. It must accept its place in the common scheme and fortune. Separation is suicide. And union means to share the universal woe or weal.

It cannot be June in the rich man's garden while it is March in the poor man's yard. There cannot be prosperity that profits only the few, or is derived at the loss of the many. A class heaven that is built over a class hell cannot exist save in outward semblance, and that only briefly.

Pitiful is the attempt of wealth to shut out poverty by solid wall and splendid gilding. Every palace is pathos in the concrete. It represents man's vain attempt to shut himself in from the world of want, and to create a heaven out of the raw materials of hell. Its

tragedy appears when he discovers that the finished product represents no change of element.

Modern invention at any cost cannot prevail. No motor car can go fast enough or far enough to escape the grip of the common fate. And the phantom of ill flies faster and farther. Wherever one touches the soil of earth, it waits.

One touch of brimstone taints the universal air.

And what is true of individuals and classes is equally true of continents. No nation can live to itself, or establish Utopia regardless of the world. The world is one.

No widest sea can so separate continents that the conflicts and miseries of one can be kept from influencing the peace and happiness of every other. There is not lacking ample proof today of the truth of that statement.

The seas serve only to cover thinly the groundwork of the world. The continents are one physically at their base. They have a common world center, and no width of radiation can obliterate the basic union.

So it is that a blow struck in Europe jars the whole fabric of America. A touch anywhere thrills everywhere. The bayonet thrust in the trenches of France reaches the heart of every man. Hell in Europe obliterates heaven in America.

The recent achievement in wireless telephony in eliminating space and conquering silence is but one faint illustration of the fact that the universe is one, and that every part of it is directly and intimately connected with every other. Across seas and continents minds think and hearts beat and voices speak and lives suffer as one. The mechanical organism of world union is nearing completion.

It is not strange that America could not hold aloof. There is no gallery in the world theatre. All's one stage, and every nation is perforce upon it. With Europe as it is, it is inevitable that militaristic influences should be abroad today, tending to transform this republic into an armed monarchy of might.

It could hardly be otherwise. It is the feeling and impulse of the world life. Democracy and peace and heaven may advance as varying waves upon the several shores, but they must find their common tidal level in the main.

America has from the first participated in the war. Every ship that sailed eastward bearing a contribution toward the maintenance of the hell in Europe bore her credentials of participation.

But let no man suppose that he can stoke the fires of hell, and escape the blighting sweep of its flame. The profit that comes from death dies. The law of retribution follows the bullet back across seas and strikes the maker. There are no war profits that do not turn to loss.

Private heavens are gone forever from individual, social and world life. It is only ignorance of laws and blindness to conditions that make possible even their pretence today.

Nothing is more clearly proved in modern times than the truth of the familiar statement that "all are members of one another," and that "if one member suffers, all members suffer with it." That was one of the most profound social principles, stated some score of centuries before evolving conditions forced their actual truth upon the public mind.

Upon that basis we rest our present search for happiness and our flight from hell. Heaven cannot be secured or hell evaded by one as long as any other suffers. One can no more cut the bonds of human unity than one can sever the sea by one's paddle.

Hell for one means heaven for none. As surely as pain in the finger can destroy the joy of the whole body, so the misery of one human life can destroy the heaven of humanity. The universality of heaven is no mere sentiment, but the harshest kind of a hard fact.

If shrewdness is still characteristic of the American people, there is no better chance for its profitable operation than along the line here indicated. That nation is going to take leading place that first yields itself to the full implications and ultimates of this principle.

Where the principle is not accepted, fortune and folly go hand in hand down the pathway to failure and disillusion. No man can succeed when others fail, or rise when others fall. When shall the lie be posted in the public place? Who shall write the words so large that we shall no longer blunder blindly on the way of life and stray into the by-paths of defeat and death?

This great fact works havoc with accustomed religious conceptions. The walled paradise must go. The selfist's exclusive heaven must be abandoned. Hell must be enlarged. The prospectus and program of the religious life must be revised.

No man can enter heaven until he takes all men in with him. To escape the hell of evil and sadness by faring through a gate of gold has ever been but the dream of avarice transferred from this life to the life beyond. But here and there alike it is only a dream, doomed to be shattered in the dawn of reality.

To win any kind of heaven worthy the name it is necessary to abolish hell. Whatever in social life results in human misery must exist as a barrier to all. The blur on the picture spoils its beauty no more than a sore-spot in human life mars its universal joy.

The way of sane selfishness leads along the path of social service. The selfishness that disregards others, and seeks to profit in spite of them, has no reward. Its real name is death.

Heaven is harmony. One discordant note can spoil a symphony. One cry of pain will make chaos of an angelic anthem. Heaven must wait the passing of hell. Until it passes, life must endure the throes of evolution and change toward the better.

The way to heaven leads through hell. To evade it is futile folly. To reckon squarely with it is the beginning of practical wisdom. To advance upon it with strong hand is to win one's way along the only pathway to paradise. To abolish it with the weapons of aggressive altruism is to create the only heaven that can ever be.

CHARLES W. CASSON.

Grant us no hymn of hate, no song of sorrow:
Life is the prelude of the longer morrow.
There is no room for wrath, no place for pain;
God's smile is sunshine, his reproof is rain.

—*C. H. Patterson.*

The History and Principles of Free Religion

By George Willis Cooke

An Address Delivered at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Free Religious Association of America, Ford Hall, Boston, May 25, 1917.

Whenever, in the history of religion, we meet with the idea that there can be direct knowledge of truth, without the aid of ritual or book, we come upon a progressive and reformatory movement. We find this tendency under Hinduism, in the development of Mohammedanism, in the midst of the conditions created by mediaeval Catholicism, and as an outcome of thinking in New England in the middle of the nineteenth century. Emphasis on intuition, mystic approach to God or an intellectual capacity for direct insight into what is spiritual, marks this tendency in religion. It leads away from what is orthodox, what is outwardly sanctioned, and what is to be found in creed and Bible.

This tendency has frequently manifested itself in this country, and more especially in New England. It found expression in Unitarianism, gave origin to the transcendental movement, had its influence on several reforms, made the outburst of literary expression shown in Emerson, Thoreau, Alcott, Lowell, Whittier, and many others. It was in this atmosphere of new thought, fresh insights, radical thinking, and reform tendencies that the Free Religious Association came into existence, at first as a protest against the more conservative tendencies of Unitarianism, then as a demand for the recognition of the universal nature of religion, and for the scientific interpretation of its fundamental facts.

At the close of the Civil War the Unitarians were inspired with the idea of evangelizing the country with their broader and humaner religion. When they met in a great meeting in New York, however, in the spring of 1865, they adopted a creed, which, in whatever degree attenuated and limited, was not progressive or in keeping with the thinking of the new time. A year later, in Syracuse, an attempt to modify the demand for loyalty to Christ as a divine being, who was addressed as Our Lord, was without results. This led to a gathering together of a small company in Boston, which grew into the Radical Club, which existed for about fifteen years, until 1882. In 1865 there was begun by Sidney H. Morse a monthly periodical called *The Radical,* which may be regarded as a continuation of those early publications, *The Dial, The Harbinger,* and the *Massachusetts Quarterly Review,* all of which gave manifestation to what was often called "the newness."

The Free Religious Association was organized in Horticultural Hall, Boston, May 30, 1867, its object being, in the words of the constitution then adopted, "to promote the interests of pure religion, to encourage the scientific study of theology, and to increase fellowship in the spirit." In 1874 this declaration was modified by stating that the objects were "to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scentific study of man's religious nature and history." The early meetings of the association in Boston were largely attended and awakened much interest. Similar meetings were held in several of the larger American cities and everywhere attracted a large degree of attention. For several years a series of Horticultural Hall Lectures were held on Sunday afternoons, when many of the leading thinkers and preachers of the country voiced the progressive spirit which animated the association. The aim of the association, especially in its earlier annual meetings, was to bring together on its platform representatives of all the religious denominations of the country, and as many of the other religions of the world as possible. Neither attempt met with much success, though all the more liberal bodies were heard, including the Reformed Jews, Friends, Universalists, Spiritualists, and Independents.

In the meantime, in January, 1870, Francis E. Abbot began in Toledo the publication of a weekly paper called *The Index.* In the first number appeared a department managed by the officers of the association, and, a little later it became the organ of the association. In 1868 it was removed to Boston, and in 1880 it came into the ownership of the association, and was continued under the editorship of William J. Potter, the secretary of the association for many years, and was discontinued in 1886.

The Free Religious movement owed more to the teachings and the influence of Emerson than to any other person. The formulation of its working principles, however, in the period from 1870 to 1880, was probably more directly guided by Francis Ellingwood Abbot than by any other, though the teachings of O. B. Frothingham, John Weiss, Samual Johnson, William J. Potter, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson were in many respects of equal importance. Abbot had a gift, however, for concise and definite statement, and for systematizing the principles which gave meaning to the life of the association. In the first column of the first page of the first number of *The Index* appeared what was called "Fifty Affirmations," being those of Free Religion, as Abbot understood and defined it. Some of these statements are worthy of recognition at the present time, and more especially because Charles Darwin wrote to their author concerning them: "I admire them from my inmost heart; and I agree to almost every word." Some of them were as follows:

"1. Religion is the effort of man to perfect himself.

"2. The root of religion is universal human nature.

"3. Historical religions are all one, in virtue of this common root.

"6. The universal element is the same in all historical religions; the special element is peculiar to each one.

"8. The unity of all religions must be sought in their universal element.

"35. Free Religion is emancipation from the outward law, and voluntary obedience to the inward law.

"36. The great faith or moving power of Free Religion is faith in man as a progressive being.

"37. The great ideal end of Free Religion is the perfection or complete development of man—the race serving the individual, the individual serving the race.

"39. The great law of Free Religion is the still, small voice of the private soul."

On the first page of the second volume of *The Index* Abbot put forth what he called "Modern Principles: A Symposium of Free Religion." It more fully de-

fines what he regarded as the essence of the new movement, which he stated in these words:

"5. Free Religion is a great and growing system of ideas, hitherto very imperfectly developed, but destined to become embodied in a world-wide Commonwealth of Man. It will claim absolute control over the collective life of society and the outward and inward life of the individual. It will rest this claim on the natural perception of truth by the universal reason of the race; that is, on the principal of Human Freedom.

"6. The chief features of this system are the supremacy of liberty in all matters of government, the supremacy of science in all matters of belief, the supremacy of morality in all matters of conduct, and the supremacy of benevolence in all matters of society and personal relations. It puts the church on the level of all other institutions, the Bible on the level of all other books, the Christ on the level of all other men, leaving them to stand or fall by their intrinsic merits or demerits.

"7. This system encourages the largest activity of the human mind, and asks no assent that can be withheld. It is the best friend of progress of every kind, because it is organized Faith in Man."

It is not desirable, however, to give the impression that Abbot was the leading thinker of the movement or the one who most truly defined its purposes, though undoubtedly he had a gift for formulating its attitude possessed by no other person actively connected with its history. In the first number of *The Index* William J. Potter gave this statement of the causes bringing the association into existence:

"The cause is to be found in the various progressive and converging religious tendencies of the time away from the conflicting authorities of specific religious systems and from the bonds of creeds and churches, to a union as broad as humanity itself, on the ground of common aspiration to know the truth and common effort to live pure and beneficent lives."

In the first annual report of the executive committee in 1868 this statement was given of the objects of the association:

"The basis of this association is broader than anything before attempted in the way of organization in religious history. It goes below any specific form of religion, and seeks to find the common ground on which all religions, or more properly religion itself, rests, and to plant itself there. It contemplates the ultimate union, not simply of all sects in Christendom, but of all religions, Christian and non-Christian, in one."

Three publications by leading members of the association, in their titles, admirably define the purposes of this movement. These were "The Religion of Humanity," by O. B. Frothingham, the first president, which appeared in 1872. Higginson's address on "The Sympathy of Religions," one of the Horticultural Hall lectures, had a wide circulation, and voiced one of the fundamental ideas of the association. The volume of lectures and selections, published in 1875, with the title "Freedom and Fellowship in Religion," may be said to sum up in a single phrase the intent and significance of the movement. Perhaps to this may be added the volume of John Weiss, which appeared in 1871, with the title "American Religion," which indicated that these men and women believed above everything in religion as modern, and as developing under conditions right about us on every hand. In all these titles appears the word religion, for this movement was of a distinctly religious nature, whatever its criticisms of Christianity, and whatever its departures from orthodoxy. A wide diversity of opinion prevailed amongst the earlier members of the association as to the value of Christianity, and the manner in which it was to be regarded. Potter and others adhered to a thoroughly spiritualized, and somewhat mystical, interpretation, and probably never regarded themselves as outside the Christian fellowship. On the other hand, Abbot declared Christianity to be represented by the Catholic Church, and therefore to be outgrown by all modern-minded men and women. He presented Free Religion as a substitute for this outgrown creed, and the association as a substitute for the church.

The Free Religious Association has been often criticised because it has organized no propagandist movement, has established no churches, and has produced no visible results of its activities. A careful consideration of its purposes and methods would show the injustice of these criticisms, for it has never desired to organize a sect or to become the center of a movement. It has sought to bring all churches and religions into harmony with each other, and its task has been to keep that idea distinctly before the world within the compass of its influence. Its members had the pleasure of seeing its purposes realized in the Congress of Religions held in Chicago in connection with the Columbian Exposition. In a large measure what it sought to accomplish has been developed in the International Congress of Free Christians and other Religious Liberals, organized in Boston in 1900, and which has held sessions in London, Amsterdam, Geneva, Berlin and Paris. Among its delegates and speakers all the world-religions have been represented.

One development of Free Religion, now quite forgotten, is deserving of recognition at this time. In 1872, in connection with *The Index,* Abbot undertook to organize the liberal forces of the country for certain specific objects connected with the relations of church and state. In the first issue of that year he appealed to the liberals of America to organize, and to that end put forth "The Demands of Liberalism." He presented a form of organization for local societies, to which he gave the name of "The Liberal League." He urged a vigorous campaign against what he called the "usurpations of the church." Local leagues were organized, which in the end reached the number of four hundred. A national convention was held in Philadelphia, July 1 to 4, when there was organized the National Liberal League. Its objects were defined to be, as stated in the constitution then adopted:

" * * * to accomplish the total separation of church and state, to the end that equal rights in religion, genuine morality in politics, and freedom, virtue, and brotherhood in all human life may be established, protected, and perpetuated." Under the head of specific objects several definite purposes were stated as those for which the League was to work:

"1. Also to adopt such a Religious Freedom Amendment to the Constitution as shall effect the complete secularization of the government in all its departments and institutions, state and national, and shall secure to

every American citizen the full enjoyment of his opinions on the subject of religion, whatever they may be, without molestation, disability, or deprivation of any civil or political right.

"2. To advocate the equitable taxation of church property, the total discontinuance of religious instruction and worship in the public schools; the repeal of all laws enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath, the cessation of all appropriations of public funds for religious institutions or purposes of any kind; the abolition of state-paid chaplaincies; the substitution of simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury for the judicial oath; the nonappointment of religious fasts, festivals, and holidays by public authority; the practical establishment of simple morality and intelligence as the basis of purely secular government, and the adequate guarantee of public order, prosperity, and righteousness, and whatever other measures or principles may be necessary to the total separation of church and state."

Abbot gave a glowing account of this meeting in Philadelphia, and wrote of it in *The Index* that it "was a wonderful, a dazzling success. It will mark an epoch in the history of the nation. It accomplished more than we dared to believe possible; it avoided perils which we knew to be imminent and menacing. It was the beginning of a definite movement, on a scale of as yet unsuspected vastness, for an object identical with the future welfare of this great republic." Only two years later, however, in October, 1878, at a session of the National League held in Syracuse, all these enthusiasms came to an end, as far as Abbot was concerned. Although Abbot was the president of the League, and was the means of its coming into existence, it departed from his purposes in this creation, and the majority of the managers had made it a means of attempting the abolition of the laws against the circulation of obscene literature. If Abbot had discarded the old theological faiths, he held very strongly to the fundamentals of individual and social morality. He with others withdrew from the League, and bitter was his disappointment. He condemned "the active propagation of demoralizing and licentious social theories—and with the support of officials and other public representatives who are on good grounds believed to have been guilty of gross immoralities—that it has thereby been unfitted for use by any organization which desires the support of the friends of 'natural morality'."

In 1880 Abbot withdrew from the editorship of *The Index,* after managing it with ability and dignity for ten and one-half years, giving to Free Religion through those years a real meaning and significance. He was doubtless much disappointed with the results which had been accomplished, and his experience with the National League had evidently remained with him as a source of regret, which he voiced in these words:

"If the better class of liberals (by which I mean those whose liberalism is an intellectual aspiration for higher truth, nobler character, and wiser social conditions than Christianity has ever yet given to the world) had only comprehended the depth and scope of the Liberal League movement, with its boundless possibilities of good to themselves and to mankind, they would never have remained so apathetic or indifferent to its success, and never have suffered it to become an engine of incalculable mischief to their own cause in the hands of selfish, immoral, and intellectually imbecile leaders. The real secret of this apathy and indifference has been a defective philosophy. Success in any combined movement among liberals, at least on any large scale, must remain impossible so long as the principle of individualism is so strong among them; for individualism is blind to the *unities* of the world. It is utterly untrue that liberalism, infused with the ideas, aspirations, and inspirations of Free Religion, lacks unity of thought, of object, or of method." He added, "The present outlook of American liberalism is threatening and black."

On its more distinctly religious side the association has not been without a purpose to extend the influence of Free Religion. In 1882 Felix Adler, who had been the president for five years, made an eloquent and powerful plea for an advance movement, and for the extension of the spirit and methods of the association. When his call to action was almost unanimously rejected, he refused to continue in the presidency. In the early nineties William J. Potter resigned from his church in New Bedford, and set forth on a lecturing and preaching tour of the country, in order that he might give to Free Religion a wider extension. A series of lectures was given by him in Boston, as well as in other cities. On his return one night from one of these lectures he fell on a Boston street, and his body was picked up the next morning. Other and spasmodic efforts were made to extend the work of the association in an organized form, but with only small results. In fact, in its very nature, Free Religion was not a propagandist movement. Any attempt to form a sect, to establish churches, to devise a creed, was contrary to its spirit and purpose. It is undoubtedly true that it might have accomplished more than it has ever yet done or had it in mind to undertake; but it must have been along other lines of activity than these. The development of the science of Comparative Religion the study and translation of the Sacred Books of the East, the great advance in the knowledge of the primitive and savage religions in all parts of the world—these advances in modern knowledge have represented what this association desired, in its formation, might come to pass. The antagonisms of religions yet remain to a large degree, promoted too often by missionary efforts; but more and more we have come to know the other religions of mankind, and in knowing to find closer affinities between them, and deeper causes for regarding religion as a primary phase of human development. To extend this free intercourse between the world's religions, to secure a right comprehension of what is essential and vital in each one, is in the spirit that brought this association into existence.

It may not be out of place, therefore, to consider the causes leading to the formation of the Free Religious Association, and what its founders sought to accomplish it its organization. It is not to be supposed that it has gone on for fifty years without change of attitude and without learning how to accept other purposes than those with which it began. We have already seen that in the beginnings of its history it dropped from its avowed objects the word *theology,* and accepted in its place the phrase *scientific religion.* In the same spirit it has from time to time revised its purposes, always seeking to keep abreast of the most advanced

thought of the time. In brief, these are the ideas and purposes which brought the association into existence:

1. All the persons who were active in the formation of the Free Religious Association had been largely influenced by Emerson and Parker. In greater or lesser degree they had accepted the philosophy of transcendentalism, which was based on the recognition of intuition as the source of truth. This philosophy led directly to what has been defined as individualism, the personal right to shape and define one's own creed. It assumed that the soul may have direct contact with God, thereby rendering church, Bible, saviors and rites unnecessary, except as aids and stimuli.

2. Assuming that all religions originate by means of these individual intuitions, it regarded religion as universal, that all special religions are fundamentally the same, that the sympathy of religions is a historical fact of the first importance, that the universal in religion is to be sought for as alone essential, and that the local, national or historic religions are to be regarded as crude and partial phases of what is worldwide in its nature. It was an early attempt to utilize the principles underlying the science of Comparative Religion for the purpose of making religion more truly harmonize with the methods and the spirit of modern civilization in its demands for reason and progress.

3. Another influence was that of science, as expressed in the theory of evolution, and the teachings of Darwin. As the movement went on the scientific method came to have a larger recognition, and, in the minds of some, to have a predominating importance. The methods and aims of philosophy were not discarded, but the scientific spirit was given more and more significance. In a degree agnosticism gained a measure of ascendency after Huxley coined that word, and gave purpose to the idea it represents.

4. From the beginning the social phase of religion had recognition, though only in an imperfect and tentative manner, and with crude interpretation. Benevolence or philanthropy only feebly defined the collectivist tendency which has since found expression, and has come to have a dominating influence on modern thought as to the origin and nature of religion, and as to shaping the ideals which must in the future direct the destinies of mankind. The concensus of the competent was a phrase much used for a time as defining the means to be used in securing human progress, and marks the intellectually aristocratic spirit which was behind much of what the association undertook or failed to undertake.

5. The demand for *freedom* in religion was that which gave meaning and purpose to the association as an organization. Free religion was to be religion freed from dogma, authority, and prescribed ritual. What was believed, what was regarded as fundamentally important, was the liberation of the individual mind from all coercion and from whatever restricts its right to untrammelled thinking. Traditions, superstitions, and credulities were uncompromisingly rejected in favor of the open mind, the search for truth in all directions, and the acceptance of reason and the free spirit.

6. The newest statement of the aims of the association includes two new propositions not intended to bind any one or in any degree to form a creed, but they are accepted merely as statements of the supreme religious issues of the time. Retaining one of the most important of the early definitions of purpose, the association is now working for a scientific religion, industrial democracy, and world unity. Certainly no world conceptions now demanding the attention of thinking men and women are more important than these three great principles designed to guide the future movements of the race toward the perfection of man.

(*To be continued.*)

FOR LYRIC LABOR.

"It wouldn't be so bad if they would only let us sing at our work."—Attributed to an Italian girl of the Garment Workers.

Child of the Renaissance and little sister
  Of Ariosto and of Raphael,
If any hush the song within your bosom,
  By all your lyric land, he does not well!

. . . . . .

One day a traveler from our songless country,
  Passing at morning through Saint Mark's great Square,
Marvelled, from workmen on the campanile,
  To hear a song arising on the air.

Marvelled to see those stones of Venice rising
  To Labor's matin chant intoned so clear,
As the great towers builded by Amphion
  Rose to the lyre's strong throbbing, tier on tier.

. . . . . .

Give us, O Child, the gifts we lack full sorely—
  Give us your heritage of art and song,
The soul that in our fathers grew, sun-nourished,
  Soaring above its poverty and wrong.

Of singing vintagers and laughing reapers
  Teach us your happy, sunland way, nor we
In blind greed longer lay a stern proscription
  Upon your song, O Heart of Italy!

Free and serene, in his reward unstinted,
  The workman's hand shall mould his rhythmic thought;
How candid to the keen-eyed gods' appraisal
  Shall be the work of Man's great ardor wrought,

When our young land, reborn in Beauty's image,
  Unto the Morn of Prophecy shall Come,
And every tower be raised with mirth and music,
  And every harvest brought with singing home.

From "The Masses," Sept. 1917. —*Elizabeth Waddell.*

The Legion of War-Makers

"The people are nothing and they ought to be everything." In his terribly realistic war story, "Le Feu" (translated into English as "Under Fire") Henri Barbusse tells of a little squad of soldiers escaped from a network of trenches submerged by a flooded river. They are talking of those who have devised and delighted in the hellish relations of war.

"And they are legion. They are not only the warrior caste who shout as they fight and have joy in it, not only those whom universal slavery has clothed in magic power, the mighty by birth, who tower here and there above the prostration of the human race, and will take their stand by the scales of justice when they think they see great profit to gain; not only these, but whole multitudes who minister, consciously or unconsciously, to their fearful privilege."

Then the other refugees break in: "There are some who say, 'How fine is war!' and those who say, 'The nations hate each other,' and those who say, 'I get fat on war; my belly ripens on it.' And those who

say, 'There has always been war, so there always will be.' Then those who say, 'I can't see farther than the end of my nose; I forbid others to see farther.' There are those who say, 'Babies come into the world swathed in red or blue.' There are those who say, 'Bow your head and trust in God.'"

And Barbusse goes on to address the people: "There are all those things against you, against you and your great common interests, which, as you dimly saw, are the same thing in effect as Justice; these are not only the sword wavers, the profiteers, the intriguers. There is not only the prodigious opposition of interested parties, financiers, speculators, great and small, armor-plated in their banks and houses . . . their faces shut up like safes.

There are those who admire the exchange of flashing blows, who hail like women the bright colors of uniforms, those whom military music and the martial ballads . . . intoxicate as with brandy, the dizzy-brained, the feeble-minded, the superstitious, the savages.

"There are those who busy themselves in the past . . . the traditionalists who aspire to be guided by the dead; who strive to subordinate progress and the future . . . the realm of ghosts . . .

"There are . . . the historians who befog you in the rigamarole of history, who declare the inter-antagonism of nations at a time when the only unity possessed by a nation is in the arbitrary map-made lives of her frontiers while she is inhabited by an artificial amalgam of races; there are the worm-eaten genealogists who forge for the ambitions of conquest and plunder false certificates of philosophy and imaginary titles of nobility. . . . It is the small things that one learns from books, not the great ones. . . .

"Out of the greatness and wealth of a country they make something like a consuming disease. . . . Out of patriotism they would make a Utopian and impracticable idea, unbalancing the world, a sort of cancer which drains all the living force . . . a contagious cancer which culminates either in the crash of war or in the exhaustion and suffocation of armed peace. . . . For the truth which is eternally the same they substitute each its national truth. So many nations, so many truths." D. S. J.

The Only Way Out

Many people have a gift of misunderstanding. The last thing indeed that people try to understand is our common human nature. Thus, they suppose "pacifists" are a sort of a lusus naturæ, that they don't read the newspapers, or that they are so seared in conscience as not to reprobate the barbarities of the German war machine. The pacifists have no advantage, except so far as they have seen "a great light," so clear and beautiful as to forbid all conceit, and to command utter obedience. But in this light they see in the frightfulness of German warfare one more extreme demonstration of the evil nature of war. Grant that it is the worst yet. But we do not wait for the deadliest form of diphtheria before we take measures to stop it. You never can tell to what length the lighter forms of poison may run.

Does anyone think that pacifists merely curse war, as most people profess to do? We care most of all for constructive effort. We should like space to show a whole line of practical means which almost force their attention upon minds not prejudiced with anger and partisanship. To take a single illustration, the German government has lately put out "feelers," as in their answers to the Pope. They use fine words about disarmament, the freedom of the seas, and the security of the world. "Don't trust them!" you say. So their pessimists and haters say of our nice words. Probably no one yet says what he means. All the more reason why on both sides, and especially on the more humane side, we should catch every good word spoken by the other and follow it up and say that we, too, like those words, and "what do they mean?" Where all of us carry some blame, or (leaving blame aside), where all are victims more or less of the same fell disease, the time comes to try as hard to reach the better nature of the other and use it to help lift us out of the slough, as we have been trying to beat each other to the earth. And the only way to reach the other and have the co-operation needful for the vast task of civilization is to begin at once with some slight ventures of renewed trust and good will. Who is ever reached in any other way? Why not try it? President C. W. Eliot's proposed conference would be one sensible experiment toward it. CHARLES F. DOLE.

Jamaica Plain, Nov. 6.

THE HELPFUL BEE.

How doth the busy bee, dear friends,
Delight to serve all useful ends:
While gathering honey from the flowers,
Throughout the golden summer hours,
It bears away, beneath its wings,
The pollen of sweet blossomings
Of all the lovely things that grow—
The useful plants and those that glow
With fragrant richness to delight
Our senses with their beauty bright.
Then zigzagging upon its way
Over the garden, field, and road
It scatters far its precious load,
And thus doth sow much fruitful seed.
Now tell me, is not this, I pray,
A truly philanthropic deed?

O busy, droning honey-bee,
O golden-belted bumble-bee,
Our grateful thanks to you we owe
For making all our gardens grow!

From Our Dumb Animals. —*Louella C. Poole.*

"The two tasks of militarism," says Karl Liebknecht, "are often at cross purposes."

"War training demands ever more imperatively a continuous growing measure of initiative on the part of the soldier. As a watch-dog of capital the soldier does not require any initiative; he is not allowed to possess it. . . In short war against the foreign foe requires men; war against the foe at home, slaves, machines. . . Which of the two opposing interests gets the upper hand depends at a given time on the relations existing between the tension in home and foreign politics. Here we see clearly the potential self-destruction of militarism."

"While militarism is generally recognized in Europe, as the "right arm of privilege, (the left arm being the State Church), yet as Liebknecht has pointed out Wealth and Militarism do not love each other at all, but rather fear and hate each other, for which they have many a reason. They look upon each other . . . only as a necessary evil, for which again they have many a reason. . .

"Militarism is a burden to Capitalism itself, but that burden is as firmly installed on the capitalists' back as the mysterious strong old man was on the shoulders of Sinbad the Sailor. Capitalism is in need of militarism just as spies are needed in times of war. . . It may hate militarism but it cannot get along without it."

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THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do Good is my Religion."

FROM MY POINT OF VIEW.

The Allies are taking a long time to reply to the Pope's Note. The Pope is ill-spoken of in some quarters in this country for his efforts. The same people a little while ago were vilifying President Wilson in precisely the same way when he was trying to get the belligerents to state their war aims. He was met with a storm of abuse by the people who are now lauding him to the skies. Popes are no deities for me; I should find it very difficult to idealise a Pope; there are not many of them I should even include in the saints calendar. But I think the effort of the Pope was a worthy one. Apart from the question as to whether his intervention will be a factor in bringing about an earlier termination of the war, it is at least satisfactory that the head of the oldest Church in Christendom feels he ought to do something to put an end to this work of wilful destruction, and to the enmity that is hurling humanity to disaster. Nothing has been more discouraging throughout the war than the utter helplessness of the Christian Church. I think it reveals to us where the weakness of organized Christianity lay in the days before the war. On the social side the keynote of the Christian Church has been philanthropy. As a philanthropist the Church has an honourable history, but as a maker of righteousness which would render most of the philanthropy unnecessary the Church has very little history. It is not true to say that the priest and the Levite as a rule pass by the wounded man; they very frequently go to him, and pour in oil and wine; they have comforted him and paid for his lodgings over and over again; but they have not done much to catch the men who wounded him and to make the road safe for other travellers.

* * *

The truth is that Christianity has always been a sort of appendage to the life of nations, never the real essence of that life. Surely the intervention of the Pope in the direction of peace ought not to cause surprise; the surprise is that he has been able to keep quiet so long. And I cannot see now why the Archbishops of the English Church and the leaders of the Free Churches should not unite with the Pope in the effort to bring the Governments to reason. Whether there is much hope of that I do not know, for it seems to me that the leaders of our Churches are chained to the chariot wheels of their political parties. I want to see a concerted movement on the part of the Christian Churches showing that Christianity and war are incompatible, and that Christianity truly lived is the antidote to war. "So, by all the stimulus of Christ," said Paul, "by every incentive of love, by all your participation in the Spirit, by all your affectionate tenderness, I pray you to give me the utter joy of knowing that you are living in harmony, with the same feelings of love, one heart and one soul, never acting for private ends or from vanity, but humbly considering each other the better man, and each with an eye to the interests of others as well as to his own. Treat with one another with the same spirit as you experience in Christ Jesus."

* * *

I heard a bishop the other night pleading for the combating of venereal disease in order that we might beat the Germans. I think it is a poverty-stricken position for any Christian minister to take. We have a bigger job on hand than fighting Germany, important as that may be. We have got the task on our hands of making ourselves worthy of our Christ. We shall find the task of conquering ourselves probably a stiffer one than even conquering the Kaiser. We have got to purify our hearts for God, to renew our minds after the image of Him who created us in holiness of the truth. We have got to rid our own country of the feuds and divisions that arise through selfish ambitions; we have got to bring down the spirit of pride and substitute for it a spirit of service. Instead of singing "Britannia rules the waves," we want to make Britannia the humble servant of Christ's kingdom in the world. The time has come for the Christian Churches of the world to take up in earnest a special mission. There is a great deal of temper in the world in all belligerent countries that is not disposed to be fair, that will not give the truth a chance. And for the Christian Churches to be silent as to their witness at this time is a crime against Christ. If the Spirit of God is the spirit of truth, He needs some champions in the world to-day. Can He find them in the Christian Church? Shall we do nothing "to fight the lies that vex this groaning earth," nothing to voice the Christian conscience? What ought to be the Christian conscience on the need for truthfulness in regard to facts, and the need of cleansed motives all around? The Church has furled her banner and is afraid to bring it out. If you propose to bring it out you are immediately told that the time is not opportune. We should conquer this fear and dare to speak the word of truth. The world can never have peace unless the spirit of reason takes the place of the spirit of war. What is the Church doing to substitute the one spirit for the other? If we are only acquiescing in the fighting our religion is dead. —*T. Rhondda Williams.*
In Christian Commonwealth (London).

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